

**Pg. 6 - Equal Sex?**



**Pg. 5 - Introducing a  
Prince of a  
Columnist**



# Colorado Liberty

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## Spring Edition







Photo by Betty Hurt

# The farm crisis — a Libertarian analysis

## The plight of the American farmer

By Mark Schauer

The farmland east of Fort Collins looks pretty bleak in the middle of winter. Last year's stubble lies rotting in the field. The horses like shaggy and mangy and the cattle are covered with mud and muck. Talking with a few farmers at a Farm Bureau auction doesn't improve the image.

"It's hard to make money when you've got to sell it for less than it cost you to grow it." Ben Wederman sold out to Woodward Governor in 1967. He used to raise corn, beets, beans and alfalfa on 160 acres east of Fort Collins. Woodward Governor expanded on 30 acres and the rest went into housing.

Reuben Ehrlich said that he can't make any money growing corn on the 160 acres he owns near Milliken. "15 years ago I could run my tractor all summer for what it costs to fill the tank now." He explained that the problem is rising expenses and interest rates at the same time that the prices for the farmer's produce are falling. He makes his money in a small carpet business and his wife works in electronics.

The farmers are caught in the squeeze of rising costs associated with land, equipment, and capital and the falling prices they get for their products. In many cases much of the blame can be placed on both foreign and domestic government policies.

Gary Cope is losing money on pigs. The Canadian government subsidizes their hog farmers. This is helping to produce a glut in the hog market. "With those subsidies there is no incentive for them to cut back production." He said that he may have to

get into something else. I asked him what he might get into. He said he was trying not to think about it.

Foreign growers also have advantages due to the strong dollar and the fact that they don't have to comply with FDA standards. In addition, our government often accepts food from foreign governments as payment of interest on loans, thus helping to create a surplus of food in this country and driving down prices. Furthermore, the government often sells our produce at below market prices. Often the foreign governments will turn around and sell the produce to other countries at a profit. Recent proposals for ending agricultural subsidies in this country would have little effect in this region. Currently, subsidies are limited to dairy and wheat farmers, and participation is largely limited to the big farms and ranches in other states.

Dairymen are quick to point out that the subsidies in their industry aren't funded by the taxpayers. The dairymen themselves fund the program. Another big help to the dairymen in this region is the fact that the Co-op here is strong, and the dairymen that I spoke with are meeting expenses or making a little money.

Cliff runs 35 head of dairy cows east of Fort Collins. He makes a little money on the herd, but not as much as he has in recent years. He thinks that paying dairymen not to produce may be a good thing if it keeps production down, but the 50 cents per 100 pounds of milk that he pays to the Commodities Credit Corporation to subsidize dairymen does hurt. Cliff

See Plight pg. 3

## Survivors or bankruptcy statistics

By Betty Hurt

In 1977, my first husband and I decided to quit our jobs in Denver and head for the Western Slope of Colorado to buy a fruit orchard. Hell, if it didn't work out, we reasoned, we could sell the land at a profit (why, just look at all the people coming to the Grand Valley because of oil shale development), and retire at age 40. I have since leased the farm to someone else because the isolation and small town atmosphere were too depressing after the death of my husband.

Fruit growing is more risky than growing row crops such as wheat, corn, soybeans or sorghum. When a grower plants a tree, it is a leap of faith. A farmer must have faith that people will still want peaches or apples in five years when the tree begins producing and that the market will still be vigorous in thirty years when

the tree is still producing. Yet farmers I knew had been growing fruit for decades, through good times and bad without going bankrupt.

In six years of farming, I watched as neighbors and friends became either survivors or bankruptcy statistics. Being a survivor in farming requires foresight, tenacity, efficiency and plain hard work. But above all, it requires an understanding of economics and of how government policy skews the marketplace, creating crisis where there should be only temporary hardship.

Most survivors in farming have few encumbrances on land and equipment. When others were borrowing at 16% interest in order to expand operations, the survivors made do, bought used, stayed

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# Regional Roundup

## A public arts center

BY JERRY VAN SICKLE

BOULDER — After attacking his proposed no-smoking ordinance, I would like to applaud City Councilman Phil Stern for his stand against a public "cultural and convention" center in Boulder. I summarized my views in a statement to the city council on February 19th:

As Council might suspect, new taxes and subsidies are likely to arouse a Libertarian outcry — whether for the arts world or any other. I only wish you would seek constructive alternatives before you get this far. When you add to public taxes and debt, you and staff should seek and respond to fundamental objections. Instead you help those who favor this appealing cause, by scheduling an election when few vote, when art enthusiasts are more likely to get off their duffs than opponents of public subsidy.

This is the democratic tragedy that Libertarians are pointing out. Some-of-the-people keep getting their pet projects funded by all-of-the-people. Big time sports franchises use this tactic, and farmers, and small businessmen and labor unions and giant corporations. The military-industrial complex and the welfare complex use this tactic. Our economy is being strangled by special interests. Those of us who enjoy the arts do not really gain at the public trough; just take a look at the size of our fellow diners. But the process is epidemic. It seems "only fair" to plead for compulsory taxes for our favorite cause.

How many wrongs before we find out that the whole system is not right? Special interest politics is fatally flawed. It is leading to national bankruptcy and democratic suicide! The pork-barrel process at every level of government is bringing this once free and prosperous economy to its knees. Some of my conservative friends

still hope that President Reagan and patriotism can "teflon" over this misdirected, propped-up economy. But those of you who are not taken in by Reagan's assurances have no business adding a single new mouth at the public trough — at any level of government.

If you will join libertarians in seeking economic sanity, we the people have abundant know-how for prosperity; art and artists can thrive as never before in all of history. As is, we are fiddling with art centers while our economic "city on a hill" is burning.

If you are tempted to fiddle anyway, another kind of warning: public subsidy for the arts must inevitably choose among all the different arts and artists who hope to be favored. There is no public way to choose fairly and wisely. Middle-of-the-road committees will decide. Groups and individuals will woo councils who appoint the committees, and then they will woo the committees. Even in the lovely world of art this process is basically insidious and corrupting. Those good at politics will win. Those genuinely concerned with the arts can only hope to live with dignity and honor if there are a great number of buyers and patrons, each with their own tastes and their own dollars.

As usual, Boulder is taking the lead in making more and more of our lifelines go through the construction of public control. Less of our lives are free and voluntary. Even if you see the local level as friendly or benign, our national government can harness local control over essential services, and the arts, for control over people and ideas in time of crisis. If you see, as I do, the prospects for economic crisis, and then military crisis, and then a crisis for our democracy, you should join libertarians in calling for diverse, voluntary solutions in every area including the arts.

## Find Your Political Position

### CIVIL LIBERTIES

- |   | Yes   | No    |
|---|-------|-------|
| 1. People have the right to live their lives in any way they choose, as long as they do not forcibly interfere with the equal right of others to do the same. | _____ | _____ |
| 2. The government should prohibit pornography in books and films.   | _____ | _____ |
| 3. The right to immigrate into the U.S. should be restricted to protect American jobs.  | _____ | _____ |
| 4. I favor registration for the draft.  | _____ | _____ |
| 5. Homosexual activities between consenting adults should be of no concern to the law.  | _____ | _____ |
| 6. People should be permitted to decide for themselves if they want to use drugs like saccharin, laetrile, and marijuana.                                     | _____ | _____ |
| 7. I approve of safety laws such as those requiring the use of seat belts and motorcycle helmets.   | _____ | _____ |
| 8. People should be required to register their handguns.  | _____ | _____ |
| 9. People should be free to gamble if they choose to do so.   | _____ | _____ |
| 10. I favor government wire-tapping and government's power to examine bank accounts.  | _____ | _____ |

### ECONOMIC FREEDOM

- |   | Yes   | No    |
|---|-------|-------|
| 1. People have the right to trade freely and use their property as they see fit, as long as they do not violate the rights of others. | _____ | _____ |
| 2. I favor tariffs and import quotas on products such as automobiles, steel, and TV sets, to protect American industry.               | _____ | _____ |
| 3. Wage, price and rent controls are sometimes necessary.   | _____ | _____ |
| 4. I think the government is the major cause of inflation.  | _____ | _____ |
| 5. I favor voluntary charity, instead of tax-funded programs, for assisting the poor, sick, and disabled.                             | _____ | _____ |
| 6. Land use should be planned and controlled by the government.   | _____ | _____ |
| 7. People should be permitted to decide for themselves if they want to be a part of the Social Security program.                      | _____ | _____ |
| 8. I support government subsidies to business, labor, agriculture, and the arts.  | _____ | _____ |
| 9. I favor a substantial reduction of both taxes and government spending.   | _____ | _____ |
| 10. I think the minimum wage law is a good thing.   | _____ | _____ |



knees. Some of my conservative friends

# Zoning zombies

BY JIM GLENNIE

**PARK COUNTY** — Last issue I reported on a controversial gravel mining business in Park County operating apparently in nonconformance with local zoning laws. Although there is little new public information on that issue, I thought that readers would be interested in some background on zoning.

The first comprehensive zoning ordinance was passed by the New York City Council in 1916. It was based on the notion that it is within the authority of the municipality to exercise its police power to provide for the public health, safety, morals, and welfare. This was not a bolt out of the blue.

The Massachusetts Bay Colony passed a Powderhouse ordinance wherein Powderhouses were banned from the populated area. This in itself certainly is not a bad notion, but when carried to the extreme of government controlling ALL land use, such as we have today, one must wonder what happened along the way from John Locke's inalienable rights of the individual to life, liberty, and property.

The concept of inalienable rights to enjoy one's property was incorporated into English Common Law, which until the Twentieth Century, was a cornerstone in American Law. Libertarians should note that the landmark case in the U.S. Supreme Court which outlawed racial segregation was based on common law property rights. The Court ruled that a Kentucky municipal ordinance was unconstitutional when it forbade a person of the white race to sell real property to a person of the black race if the property was on a block occupied predominantly by whites. The converse also was decreed.

The law was declared to be unconstitutional because it was in derogation of the common law rights of free alienation of property. That is, property owners were free to sell their property to whomever they wished. What a powerful weapon for freedom and justice. Too bad for all of us that property rights have been buried in the dust bin of history.

In the ten years following the enactment

of New York's zoning ordinance many other states followed their example, and numerous lawsuits made their way to the state's supreme courts. Many were constitutional challenges relying on the protection of the Fifth Amendment (wherein a taking of property for public purposes was prohibited unless just compensation be made) and the Fourteenth Amendment (requiring that due process be followed). At first the results were mixed, but then the United States Supreme Court entered the picture in 1926 with Euclid versus Ambler Realty, a case which was destined to become the landmark decision upholding the power of local government to enact zoning ordinances. Listen to our noble justices as they assail individual rights.

"The ordinance now under review, and all similar laws and regulations, must find their justification in some aspect of the Police Power, asserted for the Public welfare."

"If the validity of the legislative classification for zoning purposes be fairly debatable, the legislative judgment must be allowed to control."

"... the exclusion of buildings devoted to business, trade, etc. from residential districts, bears a rational relation to the health and safety of the community."

"We have nothing to do with the wisdom or good policy of municipal ordinances. If they are not satisfying to a majority of the citizens, their recourse is to the ballot-not the courts."

"... before the ordinance can be declared unconstitutional, (it must be shown) that such provisions are clearly arbitrary and unreasonable, having no substantial relation to the public health, safety, morals, or general welfare."

In other words, if you believe that the state has no authority to deprive you of your inalienable right to enjoy your property even though you are harming no one else's equal right, then you must prove that the ordinance is "unreasonable." Having seen above the kind of "reasoning" used by the courts, you can imagine the futility of trying to wrest your liberty from the protecting hands of the state.

spending.  
10. I think the minimum wage law is a good thing.

For answers — see page 8.

For answers - see page 7

## Goliath vs. Goliath

By Bob Jahelka

**Steamboat Springs** — No Bible tale, it's the Steamboat Ski Corp. vs. the Sheraton Steamboat Corp., the two largest players in this town's resort industry — aside from the government, of course. Because of the Sheraton's announced decision to close during the off-season, they face a \$10 million lawsuit. The Steamboat Ski Corp. has also filed for an injunction against the closure, stating they would suffer substantial damages not only to summer business, but winter as well. The Steamboat Ski Corp. claims the closure would damage Steamboat's reputation as a viable resort.

The hotel closure would be for a period of approximately seven months, and since their marketing activities did attract tourists to Steamboat, most business people view the decision in a negative light. The Sheraton's off-season bookings, however, were light so they faced the economic fact that it would be less costly to mothball than try to stay open.

Comments generally deplore the closing, but one wag said, "He'd find playing golf alot easier." Another said, "Get the rope."

A preliminary hearing on the injunction was scheduled on March 26. Stay tuned.



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# National Libertarian Party Convention

Speakers including Murray Rothbard, Bob Poole, and Dick Boddie will be among those featured in panels, workshops and debates scheduled for Freedom Reborn, the National Libertarian Party Convention in Phoenix, Arizona August 14-18, 1985.

Topics to be presented to convention delegates will include approximately 20 points of major national interest to Libertarians and to the nation. They will include items as diverse as a national defense debate, a panel discussion by current Libertarian office holders, and one on Libertarian solutions to ecological problems, according to Peggy Jeney, Special Events Chair of the convention committee.

Rothbard will discuss the 1930's depression and its implications for the current economic life of the world. Rothbard is a world-renowned economist and author of books including *For a New Liberty* and *America's Great Depression*. He is a member of the Libertarian Party National Committee.

A **Defence Debate** will be featured as an event Wednesday night, August 14 and will include Bob Poole, president of the Reason Foundation. A representative of the Defense Caucus will also participate. The

## Phoenix Aug. 14-18

Refer to registration form pg. 6

debate will center on arguments about offensive vs. defensive weaponry.

**"Mental Health and the Street People"** will be one of the topics of the convention's panel discussions. The discussion will cover the implications of the national "street people" phenomenon, its causes and Libertarian perspectives toward it.

A panel debate on **"The Existence or Non-existence of Natural Moral Rights"** will feature Bart Kosko and Fred Foldvary. Both panelists write extensively for various Libertarian publications.

**"The Right to Life and the Right to Death"** will be the timely subject of a panel discussion bound to hit a nerve of the American public. It will cover the gamut of thinking from abortion to the "Living Will" and will feature, among other speakers, Della Scott, national Libertarian Party Committeeperson from Montana.

**"Jury Nullification"** — the right of a

jury to state that a person is not guilty by virtue of inequity of the law in a specific case — will be the topic of a speech to be presented by an expert on the point.

**"Internal Education"** — the needs of the Libertarian Party itself in this field — will be presented by leaders of the Society for Individual Liberty.

Current Libertarian office holders will discuss the pragmatic problems of serving the public in a panel discussion. **"The Mystique of Libertarian Office Holders"** will present to party members the beliefs of those who fought through the election process to an office of significance.

Workshops on **Brochure Production** and **Video Production** will be a continuing feature of all four days of the convention. The panels are contemplated for presentation by faculty experts of Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona. They will offer convention attendees an opportunity to achieve public relations expertise seldom available without major educational expense.

**Current Defense Issues** will be discussed by a panel of experts before the convention. This discussion will not be of policy issues such as discussed in the Defense debate, but will deal with current defense establishment issues and their potential effects on the United States citizenry.

**Producing a Newsletter** will be the subject of a workshop presented by an acknowledged and experienced expert in the field. It will offer Libertarian Party practitioners of the art of public relations advice and time-tested procedures for the prod-

uction of material that expresses the Libertarian perspective not only to the party's members but to the general public.

**Libertarian Solutions to Ecological Problems** will be another topic that may attract national attention. Panelists will include experts who understand the problems from preservation to pollution and will include Larry Dodge, keynote speaker.

**Famine and World Hunger** will be the topic of a speech by a Libertarian expert who will discuss the posture of the world's nations in this regard during the convention.

**Marketing and Selling the Libertarian Party** will be the subject of a talk by Dick Boddie, campaign fund raiser for the presidential candidacy of David Bergland in 1984. Boddie, an attorney and motivational speaker, will offer his expertise to the convention attendees.

Additional convention seminars, talks and workshops will include **"How to Write Libertarian Articles"**, **"A Historical Perspective of Libertarianism"** and **"The Gentle Art of Writing Letters to the Editor"**.

These subjects and others yet to be announced will offer convention attendees a stimulating and educational experience, one not to be missed!

Room rates at the headquarters hotel, the Hyatt Regency, are guaranteed by the hotel at \$45 for a double or single. A one-bedroom suite is available for \$100 and a two-bedroom suite will be \$150. Reservations should be made directly with the hotel at 122 N. 2nd St., Phoenix Arizona 85004. When making the reservations it is important to mention that they are for the Libertarian National Convention, as convention rates are considerably lower than the regular hotel rates.



**Survivors** - continued from pg. 1





Photo by Betty Hurt

## Has Pork Barrel Legislation Trickled Down To These Two?

### Plight - continued from pg. 1

makes about \$15 per 100 pounds of milk, which is well above the average because his milk has a high butterfat content. He chose not to receive any subsidies. "There's not overproduction in Colorado. It's all in the big milk producing states." He would prefer to see some sort of penalty put on overproducers (presumably by a private Co-op in the form of lower prices) rather than the current subsidy program. The current system takes money out of his pocket without effectively curbing overproduction.

It's clear that one important reason the dairymen are doing relatively well in this area is the strength of their Co-op here. However, there is a surplus of milk nation wide and Cliff thinks things do not look good for the next 2 to 3 years until the oversupply is cleaned out.

Wheat subsidies are funded by the taxpayers, and there seems to be little support for the subsidies in the local farming community. One farmer told me the PIK (Payment In Kind) program just made a mess for the small farmers. "I heard some of them big farmers in California, they got thousands of acres and made millions of dollars on the deal. But for the small farmers, it just isn't worth the hassle."

Barry Hoover has about 200 acres of wheat near Cheyenne. He makes his money running a small tool and dye shop. Raising wheat just about pays the taxes on his land. He didn't participate in the subsidy program, but his neighbor did. "I asked him if he was going to do it again this year. He said, 'Hell no, I don't know why I did last year'". The neighbor complained about all the paperwork and 'strange people (government agents)

snooping around the place'. Also, he made less money in the program than he had in previous years. Previously he could feed the surplus grain to his horses and make money on them.

Another big problem to the farmer is rising property taxes. Jim Nukaya has operated 320 acres near Wiggins for 31 years. He has rented the land to corn farmers since 1973. Last year the taxes on his acreage went up by 50%. He didn't pass on the increase to his renters. "They aren't making much money," he said.

His daughter adds that a neighbor lost his farm to the tax collectors. "It's kind of scary," she said.

The plight of the American farmer is desperate. Many are going out of business, or making their money at side jobs. The situation doesn't look like it will improve for at least 2 or 3 years.

There is near universal agreement about the problems: high interest rates, high operating costs, high property taxes and low commodity prices. The solutions are harder to come by. Lower interest rates and taxes would help, but production needs to be controlled to keep the prices up. It's clear that government attempts to decrease production have failed and, at least in this region, have hurt farmers more that they have helped.

A more effective (as well as less coercive) means of stabilizing prices seems to be the formation of a strong private Co-op. A good Co-op can insulate the farmer from uncertain weather and unstable prices, and can regulate production. Furthermore, a good Co-op could probably do a better job of negotiating foreign contracts.

One thing is clear. The farmers have got to start making more money or we will all suffer.

out of land speculation. When a bad year came along, such as a freeze year, some farmers borrowed against future crops and inflated land values. The survivors "worked out" in the community or did whatever else was necessary to keep going without getting heavily into debt.

The survivors used good business sense and looked at economic history. Periods of wild inflation, such as that in the 1970s, are followed by recessions or, worse, depressions. Inflation is fueled by a government-controlled increase in the money supply, increases that are not backed by a similar increase the amount of gold or silver backing the dollars. Therefore, survivors know that the inflated land prices used as collateral for new loans will inevitably drop, leaving them cash-poor and deeply in debt.

Bankers, correctly calculating that crop income was not sufficient to repay loans, began to refuse loans to farmers. The lender of last resort then becomes the Farmer's Home Administration, a governmental agency that lends money to farmers who can't qualify for bank loans. If you're in a hole, they help you dig it deeper.

Deeply in debt, to the point where farmers must pay interest on the interest owed, foreclosure is inevitable. The dreams of those who believed that inflation would continue, that the boom would not be followed by a government-engineered bust, end on the auction block.

Many militant farm organizations, speaking for the farmers, now claim that low crop prices are to blame for the increasing number of farm failures. They insist that price supports must continue. They warn that food prices at the market will rise for consumers if the government does not buy farm surplus or refuses to pay farmers NOT to produce.

But, the effect of paying farmers not to produce is to keep the prices of farm products artificially high. Freeing up the market will have the real effect of dropping prices in the marketplace. This will also make American farm commodity prices more attractive on the international market.

You may argue that lower prices will drive some farmers out of farming. It is true that the debt-ridden, the inefficient

and the short-sighted will have to either make changes or find other employment. It is difficult to watch farmers on television going bankrupt, watching their worldly goods being auctioned off to the highest bidder. Why shouldn't the government help everybody who wants to farm keep their farms?

One answer, of course, is that many people are not doing exactly what they want to do in this life because they can't make a living wage at it. It's called the law of supply and demand. There are a finite number of doctors or musicians or burger entrepreneurs required by American consumers. It should not be the policy of government to support someone in a career merely because that person has a burning desire to earn a living in that field. Lifestyles are possible in a free country, but they are not guaranteed.

Government policy-makers seem to believe they can manipulate the marketplace to simultaneously ensure low prices for consumers, high prices for farmers and a continuation of the "family farm" lifestyle. What they have instead produced is a group of people who need not respond to free market conditions. (For example, the demand for dairy products is so much lower than the supply that the government buys dairy surplus outright. The dairy lobby is so strong, however, that congresspeople from dairy states fight to continue this useless practice in order to ensure re-election).

What the government giveth, the government can also take away. Witness the grain embargo to the Soviet Union. Farmers planted vast acreages in wheat to supply the Soviet market. President Jimmy, in a flatulent attempt to slap the Soviet's hands after the invasion of Afganistan (you may note they're still there), cancelled the sale. The result was instant surplus and low crop prices, a condition from which some farmers never recovered.

Once the law of supply and demand is allowed to operate, the farmer-consumer relationship will stabilize. The survivors will withstand the temporary re-structuring of the marketplace. It is unfortunate that, during the process, dislocation and frustration will be the inevitable result for such a hard-working group of people.



# Editorials and Comments

## Guest editorial

### Abortion: a tough issue

BY MARK SCHAUER

Abortion is a difficult issue for Libertarians. We don't believe in coercion, but in this case the question of coercion is far from clear-cut. Does the unborn child have a right to life? Does the mother's right to control her body supercede the child's right to life? Does the government have the right to intervene on behalf of the fetus?

The only reasonable way I can think of to look at the problem is to consider the situation as a conflict between the interests of two independent parties. Let's assume that the fetus is a human being whose right to life is in direct conflict with the mother's right to control her body. As I see it, the central ethical question should be "has the mother made an unwritten social contract to support and bear this child?" If not, then she has no ethical (legal) obligation to carry the child to term — any more than she has a legal obligation to support a stranger's child. She may feel a moral obligation, but that is between her and her maker, and is none of our (or the government's) business.

What is an "unwritten social contract?" When people have children it is generally assumed that they have an obligation to care for those children (or find someone who will) until they are mature. It is assumed that when the parents decide to have children that they have made a commitment to support them, and failure to do so is criminal. In such cases the State may intervene on behalf of the child.

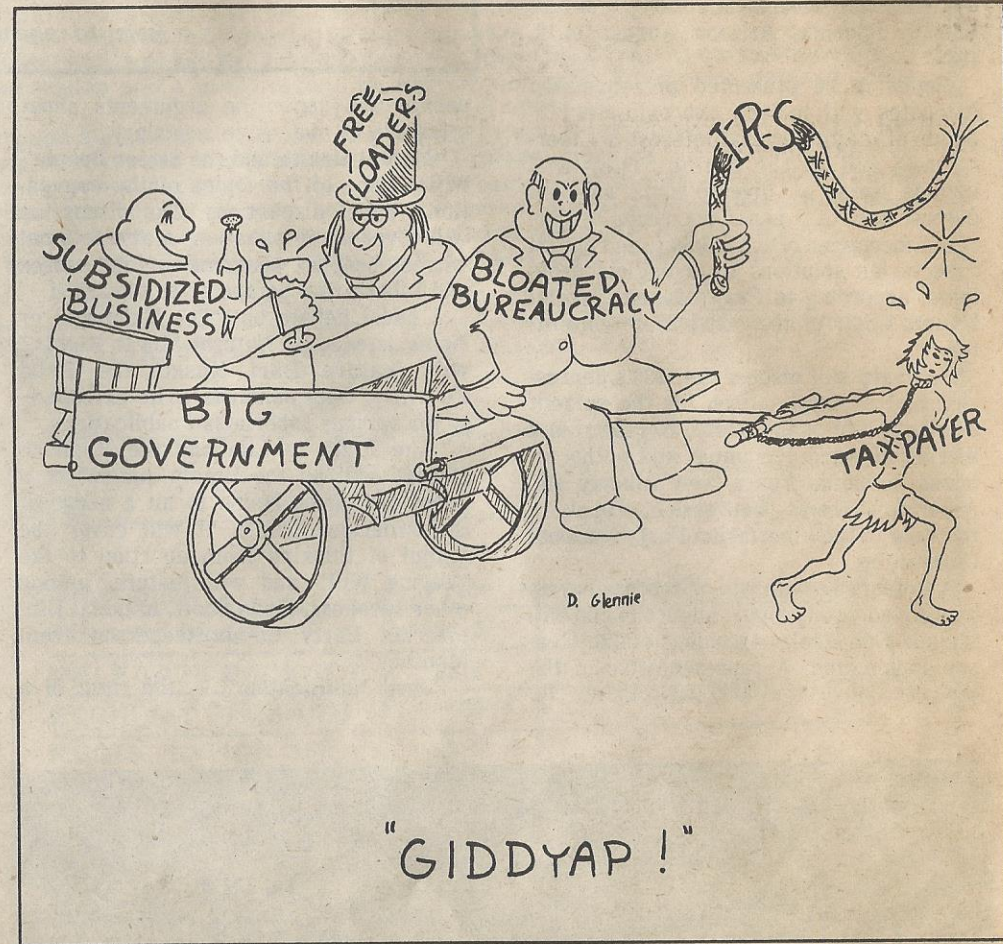
Now, suppose that by accident the couple may stumble upon an orphan child. They do not have a legal obligation to

great deal in individual cases. What if a woman decides to have the child, then change her mind? Surely a reasonable length of time for a woman to make a decision of this importance would be, say, the first trimester. If a woman waits that long I think it can be safely assumed that she has made a social contract to carry the child to term.

What if it is learned after the first trimester that the child is deformed, or that the pregnancy threatens the mother's life? I think these circumstances can be taken as a breach of the social contract. The mother assumed the pregnancy would be normal. She may still want to bring the deformed child to term, but clearly the contract must be renegotiated.

What about irresponsible pregnancy? If the women (or the man) willfully neglect to observe standard birth control practices are they obliged to have the child? Again no social contract has been made. But the fetus in this case has been damaged due to the negligence of the parties involved. Unfortunately, there can be no restitution to the victim. But forcing the woman to have the child must certainly be cruel and unusual punishment. I think the trauma and expense of an abortion is punishment enough to deter this irresponsible behavior.

Based on these arguments I see no reason for legal action, except possibly for terminating a normal pregnancy after the first trimester (something the medical profession would be very reluctant to do). I should add that under no circumstances should government money be used for an abortion. An individual must be respon-



## Showdown on April 15

By Jefferson Thomas

The past year has not been a good one for those who have taken an open stand against the IRS. But apparently it has been an even worse year for the IRS itself.

More than ever before, leaders of tax patriot movements are being jailed

will now automatically be subjected to intense scrutiny, audits and other IRS harassment.

So what is the bad news for the IRS? Surely it has tax rebels on the run, and it appears to be crushing all opposition with



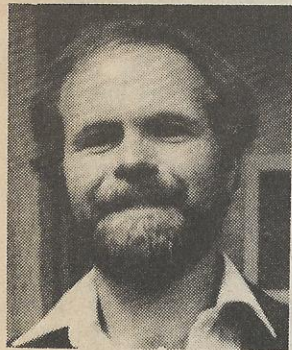
ple may stumble upon an orphan child. They do not have a legal obligation to raise that child (they will probably feel a moral obligation to care for it until someone can take the child). If, however, they decide to keep and raise the orphan child, they have made a social contract to care for it.

I believe the same rationale can apply to an unborn child. Suppose conventional birth control measures fail and a woman finds herself pregnant. She has made no social contract to deliver the child, therefore she had no ethical obligation to carry it to term. Any infringement on her right to terminate the pregnancy must be viewed as a coercive action against her. She may decide she has a moral obligation to have the child, but that is her choice.

Of course the circumstances can vary a

I should add that under no circumstances should government money be used for an abortion. An individual must be responsible for his own actions. If a person doesn't have the money or insurance, they must rely on the charity of others. It is wrong to force taxpayers to pay for someone's mistakes or accidents, especially since some of those taxpayers may have moral objections to abortion. They do not have the right to stop her, but they do have the right not to support her decision financially.

These arguments may not settle the issue, but at least they may help to put the subject into reasonable perspective. I hope that rational arguments such as these can eventually bring an end to the hysteria and violence surrounding this topic.



## Filley on freedom

# The right to waste money on quack medicine.....

By Dwight Filley

The Food and Drug Administration (FDA) recently cracked down on baldness cures, once again acting as Big Brother, trying to keep us from wasting our money on things that don't work. As it happened, I met a man who, in the course of a rambling, pleasant conversation, told me about this wonderful stuff that he rubbed on his head to make hair grow. I had to admit his hair looked fine, and he sent me the promotional literature for the goo.

Now for the sake of argument, let's say that the FDA did its research correctly and found that this particular product doesn't do ANYTHING. They (assuming they did the test correctly), probably save 50 bald guys the goo, and 50 more bald guys fake goo (a placebo), and didn't tell them who had the good stuff and who had the fake. And after they all used their goo, the FDA measured hair growth somehow, and let's say they didn't find any difference.

Fine, but what about my friend? He is very happy with his results, and in fact told me that it might be all psychological, be HE didn't care. It still worked, for whatever reason.

There is overwhelming evidence that the power of suggestion works in medicine — that people really do feel better, or look better, or whatever, solely because some expert said if you do such and such, you will get results. And this in spite of good research proving that there is no biological reason for it.

But so what? Should our tax money be used to protect us from things that many times really do help, although for unusual reasons?

Government should try to protect us from things that do hurt us, like killers or thieves.

But baldness cream? Come on.

against the IRS. But apparently it has been an even worse year for the IRS itself. More than ever before, leaders of tax patriot movements are being jailed, sometimes for years. Such leaders used to suffer a few months in jail at most, but it looks as though some of them may have to call their prisons home for a long time to come. When the IRS has been unable to make a tax charge stick, they have set some of them up for gunrunning charges. One patriot even told me she wants to organize a Gunrunner's Anonymous club for every leader of any kind of tax rebellion movement!

These terror tactics are well-known among the rank-and-file membership of these organizations, many of which have folded during the past year. To make things worse, the Colorado Legislature recently enacted "Fair Share" legislation which provides up to \$100.00 penalties and five years' imprisonment for failure to file a state return. Although the constitutionality of this cruel and unusual punishment has not yet been tested in the courts, it certainly provides a sobering deterrent for those who would consider the nonfiling approach.

Much has been made of the IRS's new computer system, which allegedly can process incredible quantities of information with frightening efficiency. There are also computerized dialing services that will call your phone number every fifteen minutes until you answer, and then flash on an agent's screen all pertinent information about your tax delinquency. And don't ask for help from tax consultants for any unorthodox tax schemes you may have.

Every tax preparer I know is regularly receiving threatening letters about the new, stiff penalties they face if they prepare a return which includes what the IRS terms an "abusive" shelter.

If you should go to court facing a criminal charge, the IRS is being much more careful about jury selection. It now routinely screens out anyone who has ever been audited from jury selection, along with anyone who shows the slightest resentment of IRS policy. Since the IRS has private information about the potential jury members, you clearly face a rigged jury. IRS agents have also been sworn onto grand juries to ensure indictments, as in the notorious Kirkpatrick case. And if the jury should find you Not Guilty in a tax crime, the jury members themselves

harassment. So what is the bad news for the IRS? Surely it has tax rebels on the run, and it appears to be crushing all opposition with the mighty force of dictatorial power. It enjoys enforcement powers enjoyed by no other government agency. The media willingly assists in the IRS terror campaign. Anyone who speaks out against the IRS risks criminal charges. Even Utah Congressman George Hansen, who has written books about IRS abuse and has attempted to curb only their worst excesses, has been convicted on a trumped-up charge of failure to report some of his wife's income to the Election Commission. The IRS has terrorized even our lawmakers.

However, I am reminded of a line from Star Wars, where the Princess Leia tells Darth Vader, "The tighter you grip us the more we'll just squeeze through your fingers." The terror tactics of the IRS are a reflection of its own fears. Last year the IRS admitted that 20 million people failed to file tax returns, and many believe that figure was closer to 30 million. In 1985, the IRS admits that non-filing has increased even more. So far, the IRS has received millions fewer returns than it had received last year by this time. There simply is not the manpower to deal with the situation.

Apparently, IRS terror tactics are not increasing compliance as hoped. Instead, they are causing people to quietly walk away from the tax system in unprecedented numbers. By breaking up the organized resistance, the tax rebels have taken to guerilla war of sorts, and their ranks are impossible for the IRS to identify. Even with the impressive array of IRS computers, it would take a tenfold increase in manpower to make even the slightest dent in this problem. This is not at all surprising. Throughout the world, people respond to dictatorial abuse by speaking out against tyranny as long as it is safe, and then "going underground" in larger numbers than anyone can calculate when free speech is finally destroyed.

In the long conflict between the IRS and the people, the final showdown is at last arriving. Even moderate commentators agree that without drastic tax reform, there will be a full-scale tax revolution in this country within a few years. Let us hope that this revolution will at least strip the IRS of its unlimited power to abuse, harass and destroy innocent Americans.





## If I had your money ...

by Ed Hoskins

# Living ... and thriving above ground

In my first column, I expressed the opinion that tax resistance and other kinds of civil disobedience or aggressive behavior toward the state were becoming more and more risky and expensive.

This time, I'd like to go on and give you my view as to how individuals might achieve at least a measure of victory over the "evil empire" of the state.

Before we get into that, however,

### LET'S TALK ABOUT YOUR ANGER

A woman was in my office the other day who had not paid taxes in years. She had filed legitimate returns, but had not paid any tax. She had artfully, if laboriously and with much risk, played the real estate market. By the rules of the game that I help my clients play, she was a big winner. However, one of her bigger deals had come to final fruition and it was time for her to pay the piper a tardy and relatively paltry sum.

Angry? She was outraged. My musings about taxation being theft was pallid and lacked credibility in contrast with her rage. I know that many of you are like that at this time of year. You feel violated. And you should. And you should do something about it.

But anger can be debilitating. I have the impression that this woman's hatred of taxes was getting in her way. I think that in her eagerness to avoid taxes, she had restricted her overall success. Like some very good and idealistic individuals we know, she had made tax avoidance her first priority, but in so doing she had

perhaps cheated herself of some greater rewards.

### TAX SHELTERS

The tax shelter industry in this country was built on the anger and fear of people like my friend. Many of the investments which are characterized as shelters are doubtless worthy in their own right, without the Congress and IRS as promoters. Many others have been correctly criticized for their nearly total lack of value beyond their production of a writeoff. Clever tax rebate vehicles, certainly, but hardly investments. One should note that the greasy promoters of most of these schemes, including lawyers, accountants, underwriters, etc., are most careful to exact up-front fees and commissions (ordinary taxable income) for their services.

### I SUGGEST INSTEAD

That we all work hard, invest wisely, and get rich and use our (Cut my tongue out with a rusty switchblade) collective millions to buy our own Congress and effect the changes we desire. In the meantime, we should take the attitude that taxes, like shoplifting, bribes, and burglary, are only overhead.

I'm not convinced that Libertarians as a group are ideally suited to being wealthy folk. But since it is the 80's, I do think that in addition to directing that anger of yours toward political action, a lot of the derivative energy can be used to emulate George Herbert's maxim:

"LIVING WELL IS THE BEST REVENGE"



## Toward being free

by Jan Prince

# Live as if you are free

I have never written a newsletter column before, so when Carolyn Phelps asked if I'd contribute to the *Liberty* on a regular basis, I said: Why not — no guts, no glory! Then I had to come up with a theme for my pearls of wisdom — the concept of FREEDOM came to mind of course. In linguistics the word is called a nominalization — a verb that has been changed into a noun. "To be free" is a process, not a thing. If the nominalization, "Freedom", is returned to its verb form, "To be free", the omissions inherent in the noun form become more obvious. "To be free" from what? From whom? To do what? How? If one is "being free" they are responding to the world in a way that announces they are self-directed and responsible for their life.

We can be imprisoned by our own limitations and fears as much or more than we can be governments. During the time I was active in the CLP (1973-1983) I must honestly say that the restrictions and failures that I and other party members had came mostly from our own self-images — not from the IRS, FBI or CIA. No one from any of these agencies has ever bugged me. Sure, I am forced to fork over at least 40% of my earnings — I certainly don't mean to underestimate the power of our ruling class; but most of the reasons I didn't succeed in accomplishing my goals were because of my own fears and limita-

tions. I learned an important lesson several years ago when I stopped demanding freedom from others and simply started living as if I were free. I have accepted, for the time being, many restrictions — I pay taxes and live by most of the laws of this country. But when I find certain regulations confining, I ignore them. The hardest part of my liberation is in discovering and removing my self-imposed law.

Some libertarians have taken their liberation several steps farther. People like Harry Browne (How I Found Freedom in an Unfree World), Karl Hess (Dear America) and the like, have, in different ways, radically expanded the boundaries of their possibilities. They didn't demand that the government allow them to do this, they understood that they can choose to live the way they want. It takes courage; one must be clever and be able to foresee consequences of decisions. It also takes a great deal of self-knowledge and a careful evaluation of one's personal values.

Our ability to be effective, both on a personal level and in the political arena depends on how we view our position in the universe. How to expand ourselves as individuals, how to examine our self-concepts and to increase our options vis a vis our environment is what I hope to be able to address in this column. I hope you find it interesting and useful. Till next time.

# Letters



## Search for freepersons

To the Editor:

I am very keen to establish contact with other freepersons, with a view to exchanging ideas, cooperating on pleasurable/profitable activities, and establishing a freenetwork. By freeperson I mean someone who has discovered or decided that he or she is free. Some people naturally discover that they are free. Others are inspired by authors like: Ayn Rand ('Atlas shrugged'), F. A. Hayek ('The Constitution of Liberty'), Nathaniel Branden ('The Psychology of Self-Esteem'), Robert Ringer ('Restoring the American Dream'), Peter Breggin ('The Psychology of Freedom'), Milton Friedman ('Free to Choose'), Rose Wilder Lane ('The Discovery of Freedom'), Harry Browne ('How I Found Freedom in an Unfree World'), Frank R. Wallace ('Neo-Tech'), Murray Rothbard ('For a New Liberty'), John Henry Mackay ('The Freedomseeker'), Sam Konkin III ('The New Libertarian Manifesto'), Erich Fromm ('The Fear of Freedom'), and Robert Heinlein ('Revolt in 2100'). In the words of Harry Browne:

"Whether or not you accept it, you are sovereign. You rule one life — and you rule it totally. You decide which information you will accept or reject. You decide what your next action will be. You decide what moral code you'll live by ... **freedom is living your life as you want to live it.** You can do that by choosing to do so. You can be free ... to be free you have only to make the decision to be free. Freedom is waiting for you — anytime you're ready for it."

By freenetwork I mean some system that enables freepersons to contact one another. Basic principles of a freeperson: (1) I am free; (2) I am sovereign and responsible; (3) I run my own life; (4) I want others to enjoy the same freedom. If you are a freeperson (or would like to be one), and interested in the freenetwork,

please let me know. If you know of anyone else who might be interested, please tell them about the freenetwork.

One of the aims of the freenetwork could be to address the question: what can be done to assist others to discover/decide that they are free? A second aim might be to address the question: what knowledge and skills can be communicated and learned, to enjoy your freedom more?

Contact: Andre Spies with your suggestions at: Freenetwork, P.O. Box 149, B1930 Zaventem 1, Belgium. Telex: 21710 Belgium.

## I'm very disappointed

To the Editor:

I'm leaving the state in a few months and I would like to make a few parting observations and suggestions.

First of all, I've been very disappointed in the effectiveness of the Colorado Libertarian Party in the last year. We failed to get transportation deregulation on the ballot, we almost blew getting Bergland on the ballot, and we have been effectively nonexistent in the press. In addition, the treasury is nearly bare, and I get the distinct impression of a lack of cohesion in the Party.

Second, I feel that the majority of Libertarians in this state tend to be somewhat divorced from reality. As I see it, one of the great strengths of Libertarianism is its practicality. Our ideals work (if they don't we'd better change them!). It is our job to show the public how they work. Most people couldn't care less about philosophy. It is no compromise of our principles to show people the practical benefits of freedom (although we should never forget to mention our ethical basis).

Finally, it is clear to me that to bring freedom to our society will require a major re-education of the public. This implies that we are not going to make dramatic progress in the political arena for another 10 to 30 years. Furthermore, it will never happen until we become effective



educators. This means that we have got to develop communication skills: writing and speaking. The CLP should be a center for teaching these skills. We are not.

I have a suggestion to improve the situation. I believe that the Party is dramatically underutilizing volunteers. I think that there are 50 to 200 people in this state who are willing to put in 2-5 hours per week of volunteer work. Effective utilization of these people would virtually assure ballot status for important bills and candidates. These people could keep the press saturated with our ideas, keep the financial support coming in and teach the skills needed to educate the public. In short, an effective volunteer force could turn the CLP into an important political presence in Colorado.

This corp of volunteers will not simply materialize. The only way I have found of keeping volunteers working is to keep after them. One or two full time people are required to keep track of, prod, support and teach the volunteers. Basically, what I'm suggesting is that if the few highly dedicated Libertarians in this state who are currently doing most of the work

would instead direct their efforts toward mobilizing volunteers, the CLP would be much more effective.

I understand that organization and leadership are against the nature of most Libertarians. But if we ever hope to accomplish our goal of ending coercion in society, we have got to organize better and become a more effective and professional organization.

Be Free and Prosper,  
Mark Schauer

## Quotations

*"The American War is over, but not the American Revolution. On the contrary, nothing but the first act of the great drama is closed."*

- Ben Rush 1787 -

*"Taxes are going up so fast that government is likely to price itself right out of the market."*

- Dan Bennett -



## Freedom Reborn



the  
**1985 National Convention  
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The 1985 Libertarian Party National Convention is to be held in the spirit of rebirth — the rebirth of freedom's ideals and the rebirth of the freedom movement; a second chance to restructure the consensus for liberty and another chance to inspire the activism required to promote it. Please join us in:

Speakers, panels and workshops on topics as far ranging as the environment and internal party education, a brochure and video production workshop and a great debate between major party leaders on defense and a philosophical debate of the existence — or non-existence — of natural moral rights.

Four breakfasts, Thursday, through Sunday morning, will feature Karl Hess, Gene Burns, Sam Steiger and Dick Boddie; a hayride/steakfry at the western theme park Rawhide Thursday evening will rekindle the free spirit of the Old West; a planned roast of the 1984 Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates David Bergland and Jim Lewis will provide the requisite ounce of laughter on Friday evening; and, the Saturday evening Banquet extravaganza will set your hearts aflame with a renewed vision of what a world with liberty might be!

Full details of this adventure will be mailed to you in early April, but why wait when "Freedom Reborn" awaits you?

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Registration permits you access to the convention floor debate. Individual events available only after July 4: Breakfasts, \$20 each; Banquet, \$65; Rawhide, \$35; Roast, \$20; Defense Debate, \$10; Seminar package, \$100 (individual seminar/speaker/workshop prices not yet set).

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# Equal sex



First, we need to create a "safety net" which guarantees to each American, as a MATTER OF RIGHT, a minimum amount of sexual pleasure. Guaranteed Annual Intercourse is one sane and compassionate approach which deserves serious consideration. Also, government vouchers could allow people to purchase sex, or a redefined Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA). There is a well-spring of altruism within the American

what is right. Another approach is the National Sex Insurance concept. Although the initial cost might be high, it would be cost effective in the long run by reducing government spending on alcoholism, mental health and crime. The economy will improve. It's obvious that if too many workers spend their weekends in a draining, futile search for companionship, the frustration will impact on the workplace in declining productivity, fatigue, and sub-



By Arthur S. Levine  
Harper's Magazine: Jan. 1983

In order to revitalize the Progressive Era, the hope of the nation's downtrodden, and the dream of equality inspired by the Great Society, there is a new key issue. It is one which touches all our lives: rich and poor, black and white — male and female.

The anguish, disaffection, and loneliness surrounding our sexual lives are a growing national scandal. We have become a nation divided into "haves" and "have-nots". How much longer can this sexual inequality continue without fundamentally threatening the nation? The "invisible hand" which supposedly governs the sexual marketplace is simply no longer working, and our totally unregulated free enterprise system for meeting and mating has become as antiquated as unchecked industrialism. Like the laissez-faire economy of the late 1800's, today's sexual marketplace is plagued by "robber barons" who monopolize the sexual action.

No civilized country today assumes that those who can't fend for themselves should starve on the street; yet we callously disregard the needs of those unfortunate citizens who are starving for sex. Today's unregulated marketplace allows fly-by-night operators to dominate the scene. As a result, innocent, gullible, lonely people are defrauded by fast-talking con men who lure them with promises of a "serious relationship", fabulous wealth, or unusually large anatomical assets. Often these victims find their hopes

dashed with no recourse to civil or criminal remedies.

For men, romantic fraud is an even more common problem. All too often they're hoodwinked by seductive women in low-cut dresses. After a few dinner dates at expensive restaurants, they're told, "Let's just be friends." The sheer waste of time and money caused by such unproductive investment is staggering.

We have yet to confront seriously the existence of a sexual underclass in this country, seething with deep-seated frustration and anger which takes its toll in everything from random violence to alcoholism. This underclass is a time bomb ticking away in our society. Unless we move quickly to end their frustrations, we may see their drives distorted into ugly political movements. Hitler capitalized on just such sexual frustrations in working his crowds into a vicarious orgasmic frenzy. Unless more Americans have satisfying orgasms, we are surely headed toward totalitarianism.

In short, nothing is adequately served by this free market run amok. It is time to launch a bold program which deals realistically with the sexual inequities in our society — a program which can serve as the cornerstone of a new progressive coalition.

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Dwight Filley, President

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The Colorado Libertarian Party is looking for a responsible, business-oriented person to serve as Food Booth Coordinator for the summer season. Profits made on this booth will be split between the Coordinator and the CLP. You can turn your weekends into cash!!! For further info, call Bob Hurt at 329-3218 or Dwight Filley at 322-2689.

sex, or a redefined Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA). There is a well-spring of altruism within the American heart, waiting to be released by a call to genuine service, an opportunity to meet our fellow citizens' deepest needs.

This spirit might best be aroused by reviving the draft, but a draft which offers today's young people a range of public service options. Predictable slurs, such as "Whore Corps" or "Piece Corps", should not deter our nation's leaders from doing

ing, futile search for companionship, the frustration will impact on the workplace in declining productivity, fatigue, and substance abuse.

We must provide the sexual underclass with meaningful, government subsidized training: including both classroom instruction and "hands on" experience. Many for-    rd looking companies provide dating s    ices, but promoting private initiatives isn't enough — the government should be the Pimp of Last Resort.

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# "Gun control" - a modern myth

By Breck Swords

Old myths die hard. For centuries, most people believed that a sacrifice to the appropriate god or goddess would assure abundant crops or victory in battle, even though any observant person could easily have seen that there was no correlation between these ceremonies and the results.

Today, a similar mythical situation exists in our attitude toward government. Many people have a blind faith that all that is necessary to eliminate an undesirable situation is to pass a law against it, and it will disappear. This belief persists, even though most of these laws can easily be seen to have no effect, and many of them actually make the situation worse.

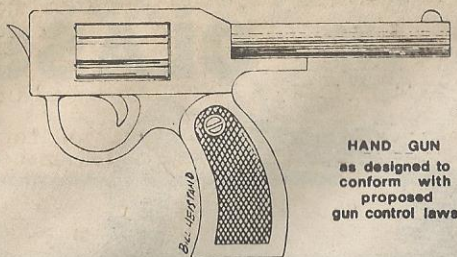
A prime example of this is that body of laws that we refer to as "Gun Control." Even though study after study has shown that registering, and even outright banning of hand-guns has NEVER resulted in a reduction of crimes committed with handguns, the belief persists that "all we have to do is pass a law." England is often held up as a shining example of gun control advocates, since it has had very strict gun control laws since 1920, and has an extremely low murder rate. The claimed cause-and-effect relationship breaks down very quickly, however, when a few more facts are known:

1. England has NEVER had a high crime rate, even before 1920, when it had almost no gun laws at all.

2. England also has far fewer murders with bare hands than the U.S. As far as I have been able to tell, the English have just as many hands per capita as we do!

3. A 1971 study at Cambridge University concluded that England's gun laws had not resulted in ANY REDUCTION WHATSOEVER in the crime rate.

Not far from green and peaceful England lies beautiful and even more peaceful Switzerland. Its crime rate is, if anything, lower than England's, even though guns are not banned at all. In fact, as part of the national defense policy, every able-bodied male above the age of 18 is RE-



QUIRED BY LAW to own a gun. Even machine-gun possession is perfectly legal!

It would seem, then, that gun control laws do not guarantee a reduced crime rate. In fact, in many areas (including England) the imposition of a handgun ban has been followed by and acceleration in the rate of increase of handgun crimes. So what is the determining factor?

Well, it seems to be largely cultural. Most homogeneous societies, such as Switzerland and Israel (whose citizens are even more heavily armed than the Swiss), have very low violent crime rates, while heterogeneous societies, like those of the United States, Northern Ireland and South Africa (which, by the way, also have high crime rates despite very strict gun laws) seem to be inherently more violent.

There are very simple and practical reasons why gun control doesn't work. Every year about 11,000 handguns are involved in murders in the U.S. This amounts to less than .02 percent of the total handguns in the country. To reduce this figure by just ONE murder, a handgun ban would have to be more than 99.98% effective!

Not only is this highly unlikely, it is probably not even humanly possible. Consider that, despite the enthusiastic efforts of various government agencies, more than 220,000 pounds of marijuana is smuggled into this country every year. This is equivalent to more than 110,000 2-pound handguns. To sustain our present crime rate, gun smugglers would need to be only ONE-TENTH as efficient as marijuana smugglers.

Who owns the other 99.98% of U.S. handguns? About 40% are sportsmen. As a

judge in Chicago's "Gun Court" characterized them: "Many of them are old people, many of them are shopkeepers, persons who have been previous victims of violent crime." These are the people that a handgun ban would disarm and leave defenseless.

Well, the control-advocates would argue, at least these people would be protected from themselves, since a gun is six times as likely to injure an innocent person in an accident as it is to be used to stop a crime.

It is unfortunate that this figure is still quoted, since the 1971 study that originated it has been discredited for years. Among other inaccuracies, the study included suicides as "accidents," thus grossly inflating the figures. The true ratio may be just the reverse; a San Francisco study covering the years 1960 to 1975 found that handguns were used for defense 15 times more often than they were misused to kill. (Remember that a gun can be used to stop a crime without firing a shot.)

It would be nice if we could make bad things go away just by passing laws against them. Unfortunately, the real world is not very kind to such fantasies.

## LIBERTARIAN ANSWERS

Civil Liberties	Economic Freedom
1. Yes	1. Yes
2. No	2. No
3. No	3. No
4. No	4. Yes
5. Yes	5. Yes
6. Yes	6. No
7. No	7. Yes
8. No	8. No
9. Yes	9. Yes
10. No	10. No

How many libertarian answers did you give?

Civil liberties \_\_\_\_\_  
Economic Freedom \_\_\_\_\_



Photo by Patricia Donahue Shortridge

Oh It Hurt So Good.

Congratulations Betty and Bob Hurt.

## Capitol Hill People's Fair

Once again the Colorado Libertarian Party will have a food booth at the Capitol Hill People's Fair. This year's Fair will be held the week-end of May 18th and 19th.

The Libertarians will be selling nachos loaded with cheese and chiles (yummy, yummy). Come see us at the Fair. Or, better yet, come join the fun in the booth and help make and sell nachos for awhile. George Wetzel is the booth co-ordinator and needs lots of volunteers. It's always fun and a good way to meet other Libertarians. Call George at 457-8051 or call the Colorado Libertarian office (753-6789) and leave a message.





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BERGLAND FOR PRESIDENT	
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## ALAN BURRIS

## Developing a strategy for liberty

There has been a great deal of discussion among libertarians about how to achieve liberty. Our discussions could be more fruitful if we better understood the methods that can be used to develop a coherent, winning strategy which efficiently uses our scarce resources. The three principal methods available are: trial and error, historical analysis and problem-solving.

With the trial and error approach, different libertarian individuals and groups experiment with tactics and strategies that appeal to them. When other libertarians hear of successful results, they will also try the experiment to see if it will work for them. The more successes reported, the more the particular tactics and strategies will be adopted elsewhere. Thus the market will determine the optimum, and less effective ideas will be screened out.

The great disadvantage to trial and error is that repetitive unproductive experiments can be very wasteful of effort, resources and morale. However, our efficiency can be dramatically improved. First, we need to design our experiments to produce more useful information. This means measuring the effect of what we try. To measure the effect of, for example, a new piece of literature, we must compare the attitudes toward liberty of readers with the attitudes of people who have not read it, while holding other variables as nearly constant as possible. This might be accomplished in an election by comparing the votes in election districts receiving the flyer with districts that did

not receive the flyer, and which gave libertarian candidates similar percentages in previous elections. Or, the effect might be measured by the number of new members or inquiries attracted per dollar or hour of volunteer time, compared with other experiments.

Just as important as measuring an effect, is learning why what we did had that effect, and what changes could have improved the effectiveness. For this we need to use techniques such as in-depth, before-and-after polling; focus groups; and psychological research. These techniques can also be used instead of election data to measure shifts in attitude. The more detailed the analysis of results with different groups of people (young-old, rich-poor, etc.) the more useful the information.

Running properly designed experiments to obtain useful and reliable information is a lot more work than giving a talk, holding a protest demonstration or trying to get as many votes as possible for a political candidate, and just hoping that these things do some good. But a well-run experiment will give you the satisfaction of knowing what you accomplished and why, and of having made a permanent contribution to the foundation of liberty. Even if the experiment was a disaster in terms of increasing votes or the desire for liberty, it can still be a success in terms of increasing our knowledge. If a primary goal of our projects is to build our knowledge rather than instant mass conversion of the infidels, or venting our frustrations, our effectiveness will steadily increase and our morale will be sustained by a

# The goose that laid the golden egg

By Susan Pax

Once upon a time there lived a man and a woman in a country with spectacular rights and privileges. People from far

to move to a smaller town where they could build a house that they didn't have to share with any other family.

When they got to the little town they

steady stream of positive accomplishments.

The second approach to developing a strategy is historical analysis. This means looking at the strategies used by other movements, such as the socialists, the women's liberation movement, etc., to learn from their successes and failures. Commercial marketing campaigns and military strategies can also offer useful ideas. The advantage of this approach is that it is based on a lot of real-world experience, and can save us from re-inventing the wheel and repeating the mistakes of others. The disadvantage is the danger that we might be misled into blindly following formulas that won't work under our different and changing circumstances. However, historical analysis can be a prime source of useful ideas, and this danger largely avoided, if the ideas are properly evaluated by trial and error.

The third approach to developing a strategy is to use problem-solving techniques. There is a large literature on this subject, but a few general principles can be mentioned here. For complex problems such as achieving liberty, it is usually

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important issues unresolved: What is the optimum tradeoff between reaching our goal as fast as possible, and the amount of cost and damage to us and others in achieving it? We can't be completely free if others are enslaved, so that our relations with them are hindered. Are we justified in also defending them against the state if they don't want our help? Should we be limited in the means of defense we use to reach our goal?

Such questions illustrate the importance of first clearly and completely defining our goals before planning strategy. By bringing differences in goals out into the open where they can be discussed, we assist their resolution, reduce the confusion with other issues, and speed the development of an integrated strategy.

*"What inducement has the farmer while following his plow, to lay aside his peaceful pursuit and go to war with the farmer of another country? Or what inducement has the manufacturer? And are not the conquest and defeat each of the same price, and taxes the never failing consequence? War is the gambling table of govern-*



a woman in a country with spectacular rights and privileges. People from far lands would travel to see the wonders of this land. Sometimes they would use intricate means to get there and to stay there. One time the king of the island country south of the golden land sent his unwanted people in the guise of poor and mistreated. The king of the golden land was fooled by this and allowed them to come in. He believed in the freedom of all people of all countries. Some of his advisors would chastise him and laugh behind his back because they thought this idea archaic and of no use in the world today.

The man and the woman were married. They had gotten a license from the state which let them be married. They were very glad they had been allowed to be married and that there was no problem with the license. The woman went to a good school and learned nursing. She knew it was good because it was registered as such with the government. Soon she was able to apply for a license from the state to allow her to be a nurse. She was very happy when she passed because she was a good nurse and wanted to practice.

The man also went to school and had help from the government for the cost. The money from the jobs he and the woman had paid for food and for rent on the apartment that they didn't have to share with any other family. Soon he studied all the subjects required to be an electrician. Then he went down to a government building and applied for a license to practice electricianing. It took awhile but after he got it they were very happy that they were both allowed to work.

All this time the man and the woman had lived in the big city. Now they decided

share with any other family. When they got to the little town they knew they would have to use a car. So, they went to a government building and got licensed to drive a car. They had studied and the government said that it was okay that they could drive a car. They drove to an insurance company to buy insurance so that they could drive. They drove back to the house they were building.

The house took longer than they had planned because they sometimes had to do things over so that all the requirements to make a house were done. They had paid for a permit from the government saying that it was okay that they build a house. Sometimes it took a long time for the inspectors to get out to the house.

But they were very happy and soon had a daughter. On voting day they went to vote. The man didn't know what the ballot proposals were about so he did the best he could. The woman didn't know who some of the people were but she knew that it was her duty to vote for someone and so she did. They were very happy.

The man and the woman read their newspaper everyday before going to work. They watched TV and sometimes went to the public library. They would talk about those other countries where the people have few rights, where there were riots, repression and war. They would think about how happy they were in a country where that could never happen.



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subject, but a few general principles can be mentioned here. For complex problems such as achieving liberty, it is usually better to start with the desired result, and work backwards in time to where you are today. It is very important to clearly define in writing the problem, the requirements of an acceptable solution, and the barriers to solving the problem. Sometimes, these steps alone will make the best solution obvious, or eliminate all but a short list of possible solutions.

For example, the problem might be stated as: We are being robbed and oppressed by a gang of people calling themselves government. The acceptable solution might be stated as: Reduce the total initiation of force against us and costs imposed on us by agents of this or other governments, or by ordinary criminals, to a minimum, and securely maintain it at that minimum. (Note that the costs imposed on us to defend ourselves against government must be included, because we wouldn't gain much if, for example, defense consumed 100% of our income). Unfortunately, this statement leaves a few

shared with the same price, and taxes the never failing consequence? War is the gambling table of governments, and citizens the dupes of the game."

- Thomas Paine 1792 -

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